

# *Augustine's 'City of God', pagan history and the unity of the 'Annolied'*

Article

Published Version

Thurlow, P. A. (1980) Augustine's 'City of God', pagan history and the unity of the 'Annolied'. Reading Medieval Studies, VI. pp. 44-67. ISSN 0950-3129 Available at <https://centaur.reading.ac.uk/84670/>

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Publisher: University of Reading

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Augustine's City of God, Pagan History and  
the Unity of the Annolied

The Annolied (c.1090) <sup>1</sup> continues to fascinate scholars and recently provoked many divergent opinions and approaches. The following are relevant to this essay. E. Nellmann, the latest editor, sees a connection between the review of pre-Christian pagan history in the first part (VIII-XXX) of the second historical introduction to Anno's life and the second strophe (II), where, according to him, the poet presents in his treatment of God's creation of man ein Weltbild, das im Gegensatz zur Schöpfungslehre Augustine steht. <sup>2</sup> As Nellmann also finds the prologue (I) unpolemical in its tone and attitude to heroic themes, he concludes that the poet has eine spezielle Einstellung zur 'Welt'. <sup>3</sup> F.P. Pickering classifies the poem as 'Augustinian' in the light of his definition of this word; it deals with history as providential history, where Fortuna has no place, and its historical philosophy is Christian and consonant with that of Augustine, though not directly derived from his writings. In the context of medieval historiography he finds the work to be little more than a curiosity and sees little of value in the poet's account of pagan history. <sup>4</sup> The presence of so much history in a saint's legend is explained by D. Knab, who shows that the poem has to be viewed against the background of trends in Latin historiography and hagiography in the north-west of continental Europe in the eleventh century. In this area writers of this time link subject-matter of purely local interest with famous events and figures of world history and search for or invent famous and fabulous origins of monasteries, episcopates and tribes. <sup>5</sup> In the light of this thesis it is possible to justify not only the first historical introduction to Anno's life (II-VII), which places the saint against the background of Heilsgeschichte, but also the contents of the second with its long outline of pagan history introducing a brief history of the see of Cologne (VIII-XXXIII). As Nellmann points out, Anno is celebrated both as regent of Germany and as Archbishop of Cologne. The poet has good reasons, if Knab's argument is taken to its logical conclusion, for tracing in this second introduction the origins of empire and of Anno's German subjects as well as of towns, Cologne, the see of Cologne and the Church, to which it belongs. <sup>6</sup> The poet views pagan history as vanitas vanitatum according to E. Marsch, who then, without elaborating on his theme, suggests that it is used in the poem as a foil to Church history and to Anno's life. <sup>7</sup> Finally, H. Wenzel discovers in the work a contrast between the militia saecularis with its heroic code and the militia Christi with its Christian virtues. These Christian warriors are led by Christus rex, a figure familiar to the early Middle Ages from the Benedictine Rule. A comparison between the two armies favours the militia Christi; St. Peter's missionaries won a better victory over the Franks than did Caesar and his men (XXXIII, 1-4). <sup>8</sup>

Though the last author directs our attention to the figure of Christus rex

in the Annolied, he says nothing about his niuwe Küninrichi (XXXI, 15). In strophe XXXI, the poet confronts his audience with the image of the infant Christ born of the Virgin Mary, who is at once king over a heavenly host (XXXI, 3-4) and a mighty kingdom that is imminent here on earth (XXXI, 13-6). Christ's eternal kingdom is then to have an extension in history. Nellmann, having tenuously linked the pagan Roman Empire of pre-Christian times with the medieval kingdom of Germany by means of Caesar's conquest of the German tribes, sees the niuwe Küninrichi as eine geistliche Überhöhung des Römisch-Deutschen Imperiums.<sup>9</sup> However, Christ's kingdom on earth is something much more specific than Nellmann's definition suggests. The identity of the niuwe Küninrichi is clearly indicated by the contents of strophes XXXII-XXXIII, where the poet describes the establishment of the Church in Rome by Peter, the deeds of Peter's 'soldiers' amongst the Franks and, briefly, the line of apostolic succession down to Anno. It is the universal Church, whose expansion through the conquest of the pagan world by Peter and the other apostles has already been described in V in the first historical introduction.

Amongst the Fathers of Western Christendom it is not Benedict but Augustine who defines the Church as the kingdom of Christ the King. In his commentary on the prophecies of Hannah (I Sam. 2, 1-10) in the City of God Augustine calls the ecclesia Christi the civitas magni regis and sees Hannah, who personifies ecclesia, as representing ipsam civitatem Dei, cuius rex est et conditor Christus.<sup>10</sup> He discusses the transformation in ecclesia after Christ's Incarnation when identifying the seven children born to the barren woman (I Sam. 2, 5). These seven children are the seven churches, to which the apostle John writes (Rev. 1, 4), and represent the one universal Church. Ecclesia is barren until the birth of this offspring, which is the start of God's kingdom on earth among the Gentiles:

sterilis enim erat in omnibus gentibus Dei civitas,  
antequam iste fetus, quem cernimus, oreretur. <sup>11</sup>

Such a view of the Church in history explains why the poet condemns all the first five aetates mundi to hell (IV, 4) in his first introduction to Anno's life; such a statement also tallies with Augustine's teachings concerning the pagan Gentiles.<sup>12</sup> This development in the history of mankind is effected per sacerdotem eundemque regem novum ac sempiternum, whose role in time and eternity is later more fully described in the following gloss on a verse from the Psalms:

Deus autem rex noster ante saecula operatus est salutem  
in medio terrae (Ps. 73, 12); ut Dominus Iesus accipiatur  
Deus noster, qui est ante saecula, quia per ipsum facta sunt  
saecula, operatus salutem nostram in medio terrae, cum  
Verbum caro factum est et terreno habitavit in corpore. <sup>13</sup>

Since Augustine's use of ecclesia and civitas Dei is sometimes imprecise and ambiguous it is not surprising, as N. Baynes points out, <sup>14</sup> if those writers who read and used the City of God in the Middle Ages, often did not equate these terms with a body of men who serve God in lives shaped by faith, obedience, love of God, humility and other Christian virtues, but instead with that institution, of which such persons are members. For example, according to B. Smalley, <sup>15</sup> Otto von Freising in his De Duabus Civitatibus disregards Augustine's warning that many false Christians belong to the civitas diaboli and uses ecclesia as a term designating a religious institution that is later to become a political institution as well rather than as a collective noun for God's elect. W. Lammers, <sup>16</sup> the latest editor of this work, shows in his introduction how Otto's ecclesia, the universal Church and kingdom of Christ on earth, comes in the reigns of Constantine and Theodosius to signify the union of the Christian State and Church, a civitas permixta, that supplants a stunned civitas terrena. However, he also points out that even in the age of the civitas permixta, Otto sees history as a battleground between the victorious good and the evil, who are doomed to defeat. Like Otto, the poet of the Annolied is interested in the Church as a historical institution. He, too, will equate ecclesia with the universal Church, Christ's kingdom on earth, in strophes XXXI-XXXIII. He, too, will see history as a battleground between the forces of good and evil: between the true followers of Christ and His saints on the one hand and on the other the wicked (XXXV, 7) and those who betray Anno (XXXIX, 3-6) as well as apostates such as Volprecht, who is seduced by the devil into disbelief and blasphemy (XLVI-XLVII). Augustine's aim in his commentary on Hannah's prophecies is to show the significance of Christ's Church in history. It is something new because it represents a transformation in the relationship between God and man that leads to a massive expansion of ecclesia, which had previously consisted of a few Old Testament figures. Otto von Freising is aware of this earlier ecclesia, which he calls the hidden Church, the Church of Jewish history, but for him, too, the start of Christ's kingdom on earth lies in the emergence of the visible or universal Church of Christendom at His birth. For the poet of the Annolied it is only the Church of the Gentiles that is relevant to his purpose. The very newness of Christ's Church or kingdom is useful in that it contrasts with the ancient towns and empires of the pagan Gentiles.

Thus, the evidence suggests that in strophe XXXI the poet has combined elements from the biblical story of Christ's birth with Augustinian theory relating to the role of ecclesia in history. This assertion is supported by the invincibility of Christ's kingdom on earth,

Demi mûz diu werilt al intwichin, (XXXI, 16)

which reflects Augustine's gloss on another Old Testament prophecy that concerns Christ's Church, where its all-conquering might is emphasized:

De potestate vero eius et ecclesia sic locutus est:  
Videbam, inquit, in visu noctis, et ecce cum nubibus  
caeli ut filius hominis veniens erat, et usque ad  
vetustum dierum pervenit, et in conspectu eius praelatus  
est; et ipsi datus est principatus et honor et regnum, et  
omnes populi, tribus, linguae ipsi servient. Potestas  
eius perpetua, quae non transibit, et regnum eius non  
corrumpetur. (Dan. 7, 13-4). 17

It is this thought that introduces and inspires strophes XXXII-XXXIII, where Christ's all-powerful Church supersedes the invincible empire of pagan Rome, which dominates the world (XVI, 12) in the long first section on pagan history in the second historical introduction to Anno's life. In the short second section (XXXI-XXXIII), St. Peter and his missionaries expand Christ's kingdom. They fight a better battle against the Franks than Caesar had, for not only do they teach the Franks to resist sin (XXXIII, 5) but they also represent a different kind of kingdom, a new Rome, that belongs to Christ after Peter's victory over the devil (XXXII, 1-4). This new Rome is part of Christ's kingdom

Dannin uns allin quam diu genade. (XXXI, 14)

The name of Hannah, whom Augustine identifies with ecclesia, means 'the grace of God', and her offspring, the civitas magni regis, is, to give his full definition of it, the civitas magni regis, plena gratia. 18

It is generally agreed that St. Jerome's exegesis of the seventh chapter of the Book of Daniel provides the poet's source for the historical framework he utilizes for the outline of the political history of the world in strophes XI-XVII. It is important to note that it is not the symbolism of Nebuchadnezzar's dream with its statue made of four metals from Daniel 2, 31-3, but that of the prophet's dream with the four terrible beasts of Daniel 7, 2-8, which the poet uses for this purpose; this will be an important factor in assessing whether he has been prompted by any one author to use Jerome's scheme or not. According to the historian A.-D. van den Brincken, there is no tradition of using either of the symbolisms of Daniel in the chronicles of the early Middle Ages. 19 Jordanes († ca. 554), who refers to neither of the symbolisms of Daniel, is the last historian to use the scheme of the four empires of world history before the second half of the eleventh century. 20 The scheme is revived five centuries later by Bernold of St. Blasien, who soon after 1073 begins work on his chronicle, which ends with the year 1100. As he uses Jordanes as his source, it is not surprising that he, too, mentions the four empires without alluding to either of the symbolisms of Daniel. 21 Between Jordanes and Bernold historians follow the example of Isidore and Bede in suppressing Jerome's historical scheme. They retain Augustine's aetates mundi, which is a useful framework when Church and religion are seen as a source of unity whilst the Roman Empire disintegrates and loses its

claim to universality in the West, thus rendering Jerome's scheme irrelevant to western historiographers.<sup>22</sup> Although Otto II is the first of many German kings to use the style imperator Romanorum and Otto III places renovatio imperii Romanorum on his seal, no historian before 1073 reanimates Jerome's scheme. The idea of a translatio imperii from the Romans to the Franks is first noted in the reign of Charlemagne, but it is mentioned only once or twice before the last years of the eleventh century,<sup>23</sup> when the idea begins to gain currency. It is Frutolf von Michelsberg (+ 1103) who first uses the device of a translatio imperii to suggest that the medieval Frankish Empire is a continuation of ancient Rome,<sup>24</sup> but though he refers to the four empires of world history as symbolized by the statue of Daniel 2, he makes no attempt to use the scheme systematically as a historical framework.<sup>25</sup> Earlier, the idea of a translatio is revived by the Italian polemicist Petrus Crassus in his Defensio Henrici regis (1084),<sup>26</sup> but there is no evidence that the poet of the Annolied knows the idea or that it prompts him to use what is still essentially an out-of-date historical scheme that has not been employed effectively in historiography for six centuries. Certainly, the two other historians of late antiquity besides Jordanes who might have influenced him must be ruled out; Sulpicius Severus writes his Chronicon (403) before Jerome composed his commentary on Daniel, and Orosius uses a system of four monarchies that is found neither in Jerome nor his master's City of God.<sup>27</sup> In the early Middle Ages the absence of a sense of historical continuity between Rome and Germany coincides with an apparent lack of interest in the Book of Daniel. Before the commentary of Rupert of Deutz in 1117 there is no medieval exegesis of Daniel except the hitherto unpublished and doubtless highly derivative work of Hrabanus Maurus.<sup>28</sup> Is it pure chance that the poet knew Jerome's commentary and used the second symbolism rather than the first? No historian prior to the Annolied alludes to the four beasts. However, Augustine recommends the study of Jerome and uses the second symbolism of Daniel in the City of God. As will be shown, this work had a decisive influence on the poet's presentation of the fourth animal of Daniel's dream, so Augustine was obviously the guiding hand behind the poet's use of Jerome's scheme.

Since Augustine inspired both the poet of the Annolied and Otto von Freising, it is not surprising if the historical framework of the second historical introduction to Anno's life, the four empires of Jerome's exegesis of Daniel and Augustine's civitas magni regis, is reminiscent of that of the De Duabus Civitatibus. Otto attempts what Freculph of Lisieux promises but does not deliver: a history of the world seen in terms of Heilsgeschichte.<sup>29</sup> In his chronicle Otto conflates both of the historical schemes to be found in the City of God: the aetates mundi and the four empires of Jerome. Both are found in the Annolied. The six aetates are reserved for the first introduction to Anno's life, where the saint's career is seen solely against the background of Heilsgeschichte. Otto's subject is political history. In the De Duabus Civitatibus he has imposed a theological division of history into a civitas

terrena and a civitas Dei onto a scheme for political history that has its roots in pagan historiography.<sup>30</sup> As has been shown earlier, Christ's kingdom becomes a political entity in the work. By comparison, the poet of the Annolied makes no attempt to politicize the Church. As a local patriot and hagiographer he grafts a history of heathendom onto Church history in the second historical introduction to Anno's life. This explains why, if the Roman Empire lasts until the end of the world (XVII, 10), the poet loses interest in political history after the birth of Christ except in so far as it forms a background to the life and excellence of his Christian hero. It is conceivable that Otto knew the Annolied, for the matter and themes of strophes V and XXXII-XXXIII are found in parts of Liber III, 14 of the De Duabus Civitatibus.<sup>31</sup> It is known that Abbot Kuno of Siegburg probably took the Annolied with him to Bavaria, when he was made Bishop of Regensburg, for it is used there as a source of the Kaiserchronik (ca.1135-55). The niuwe Künincrichi of the Annolied is paralleled in the foreword to Liber III by Otto's description of the apostles as novi regis ministri, though Augustine's use of novus rex quoted in our discussion of his commentary on Hannah's prophecies is the more likely source. In III, 14, the warfare of Peter and his fellow apostles is compared favourably with that of the Romans in their respective conquests of the world, whereas in the Annolied it is Peter's missionaries, Maternus, Valerius and Eucharis, who wage a better war than Caesar against the Franks. For Otto the apostles are the architects of Christ's kingdom and a similar catalogue of their missionary activities to that found in III, 14 is seen in strophe V of the Annolied. The sceptic will suggest that despite certain similarities in the treatment of history by these two authors, it remains to be proven that the poet of the Annolied presents pagan history as an Augustinian civitas terrena.

Nellmann contends that the poet's attitude to pagan history is characterized by a tolerance that is comprehensible in the light of his apparently equally friendly attitude to heroic themes in his prologue. However, the prologue to the Annolied follows in the tradition of Sulpicius Severus's prologue to the Vita Martini, the first and most influential of saints' legends in western Europe. In the latter Sulpicius is bluntly uncompromising in his denunciation of heroic literature and pagan philosophy.<sup>32</sup> The tone of the prologue to the Annolied is deceptively mild. In it the poet suggests that we, his audience, should forget past delight in heroic song Van alten dingen (I, 2) that celebrates events and figures of the past (I, 3-6), and exhorts us to develop a keen awareness of significant events that are taking place in the present, the miracles at Anno's grave, which are signa virtutis, for these are relevant to our own future in eternity beyond the realm of time:

Wante wir noch sūlin varin  
 Von disime ellendin libe hin cin ewin  
 Da wir imer sūlin sin. (I, 16-18)



According to E. Sehrt's glossary to the works of Notker of St. Gall (+ 1022), the adjective ellende has two meanings: the primary sense is 'abroad; in exile', and the secondary, derivative sense 'unhappy, wretched, miserable'.<sup>33</sup> Both meanings would suit the context here and add an Augustinian hue to the prologue. J. Laufs has shown that for Augustine miseria is the lot of mankind after the Fall,<sup>34</sup> and if the poet has the primary sense in mind, he is inviting the members of the civitas Dei peregrinans who form his audience to remember that they are as yet far from home and to reject everything that would impede their safe arrival in heaven. There is clearly no spezielle Einstellung zur 'Welt' here. Also, this rejection of the heroic past in favour of a meaningful present in the prologue is echoed in the poet's use of contrasting adjectives in the opening strophes of the two parts of his second historical introduction. At the start of his account of pagan history he describes the origins of aldin burgin (VIII, 4) and here alt is meant to signify not only antiquity but also irrelevance as is indicated by the poet's use of the contrasting niuwe to describe Christ's kingdom on earth. The latter is not only new but modern and relevant in the same way as the present in the prologue; both are linked by the theme of miracles, for the coming of Christ is marked by miraculous portents in Rome (XXXI, 7-12).

Further, Nellmann's remarks about the poet's strophe on God's creation of man should be rejected for two reasons. First, they ignore the context in which this strophe (II) appears. In the first historical introduction (II-VII) Anno is seen in terms of Heilsgeschichte; Adam fell, and Anno is one of those milites Christi, who as God's saints, show postlapsarian man the way to heaven after Christ has harrowed hell and robbed the devil of his power. Secondly, the poet's whole account of both the creation and the fall of man is eminently Augustinian; almost all of the ideas in it can be found in the City of God. It is obviously right for Augustine, as it is for any other theologian, to describe prelapsarian man as a very fine creature indeed. But is the concept of man as a microcosm Augustinian? Nellmann associates it solely with Aristotle, Plato and the Greek Fathers.<sup>35</sup> A.C. Crombie states that Augustine is an important medium for the transmission of Greek ideas to the West.<sup>36</sup> This idea is found both in the Enarrationes in Psalmos<sup>37</sup> and the City of God. In portraying man as a being that belongs to both the physical and the spiritual worlds:

Du diu vrone Godis hant  
 Diu spehin werch gescuph so manigvalt,  
 Du deilti Got sini werch al in zuei,  
 Disi werlt ist daz eine deil,  
 Daz ander ist geistin:  
 Du gemengite dei wise Godis list  
 Von den zuein ein werch, daz der mennisch ist,  
 Der beide ist corpus unte geist,  
 Dannin ist her na dim engele allermeist, (II, 3-11)



the poet may well be quoting from the City of God where Augustine describes the creation of man as follows:

Deus unus omnipotens, creator et factor omnis animae  
atque omnis corporis, ... qui fecit hominem rationale  
animal ex anima et corpore 38

and shows man to be the greatest of God's creatures after the angels in the following hierarchy that he finds in the universe:

In his enim, quae quoquo modo sunt et non sunt quod Deus est  
a quo facta sunt, praeponuntur viventia non viventibus,  
sicut ea, quae habent vim gignendi vel etiam appetendi, his,  
quae isto motu carent; et in his, quae vivunt, praeponuntur  
sentientia non sentientibus, sicut arboribus animalia; et in  
his, quae sentiunt, praeponuntur intellegentia non  
intellegentibus, sicut homines pecoribus; et in his, quae  
intellegunt, praeponuntur immortalia mortalibus, sicut  
angeli hominibus. Sed ista praeponuntur naturae ordine. 39

The next four lines (II, 12-15) contain two learned glosses. The second

Wir sūlin un[man] cir dritte werilde celin,  
So wir daz die Crichen horin redin (II, 14-15)

is, as A. Haas clearly demonstrates, from the Homilium in Prologum S. Evangelii  
Secundum Joannem of John Scotus Erigena. 40 The first

Alle gescaft ist an dem mennischen,  
Soiz sagit daz Evangelium (II, 12-13)

is probably a fruit of the poet's reading of exegetical commentaries on Mark XVI, 15: praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae, which do not see this verse as an exhortation to the apostles to preach the gospel to lifeless things like stones and plants, but instead to man, who has all creation in him. 41 Having paraded his learning, the poet then continues his narrative; because he did not stand firm, Adam fell from that high position in the universe accorded to him by God (II, 16-17).

There is little in the poet's account of the Fall that is biblical. Two Falls are telescoped into one; that of Lucifer and that of Adam. The reason for God's wrath is that:

Ein iwelich ding diu e noch havit  
 Di emi Got van erist virgab,  
 Ne were die zuei gescephete,  
 Di her gescuph die bezziste. (III, 17-20)

The poet is indicating that the two best of God's creatures are guilty of disobedience. Such a motivation of the Fall is truly Augustinian. In the hierarchy of creation, as depicted in the last quotation from the City of God, men and the angels belong to the highest order; they are the naturae rationales.<sup>42</sup> Of mortal man and the immortal angels with their freedom of will, God requires obedience, the mother of all virtues in Augustine's eyes:

Sed oboedientia commendata est in praecepto, quae  
 virtus in creatura rationali mater quodam modo est  
 omnium custosque virtutum; quando quidem ita facta  
 est, ut ei subditam esse sit utile; perniciosum autem  
 suam, non eius a quo creata est facere voluntatem. 43

In the voluntas perversa which leads to disobedience all other vices have their origin. The rest of God's creatures observe the leges summi creatoris et ordinatoris,<sup>44</sup> the rules that obtain for their respective ordines, as the poet goes to some length to demonstrate (III, 4-16), but man's folly results in diu leihit (III, 22), the sufferings of mankind. Finally, man's enslavement by the devil (IV, 2), the consequence of man's disobedience, is also Augustinian not biblical, for in the City of God Augustine writes:

nec sic, ut in sua esset omnimodis potestate, sed a se  
 ipse quoque dissentiens sub illo, cui peccando consensit,  
 pro libertate quam concupivit duram miseramque  
 ageret servitutem. 45

The themes of suffering and disobedience link the Fall with the opening strophes (VIII-X) of the second historical introduction. Ninus who, as the first warmonger, is the first of a long line in pagan history, inflicts the miseries of warfare on peoples who were previously ungeleidigete (VIII, 14), and Nimrod foolishly<sup>46</sup> persuades the giants to build the Tower of Babel widir Godis uortin (X, 7). The poet's account of the Tower of Babel and its construction is just as unbiblical as his account of the Fall. Here, too, the theme of disobedience is introduced from the City of God, for when writing widir Godis uortin, which is not in Genesis, the poet has in mind iubens and Deo iubenti found in Augustine's commentary on God's punishment of the builders of the Tower:

Genus vero ipsum poenae quale fuit? Quoniam dominatio imperantis in lingua est, ibi est damnata superbia, ut non intellegeretur iubens homini, qui noluit intellegere ut oboediret Deo iubenti. 47

The poet has grafted this theme onto an adaptation of Ambrose's reference to the revolt of Nimrod and the giants against heaven in his Liber de Noe et Arca:

Qua ratione etiam Chus Nembroth gigantem genuerit, qui erat venator ante Deum? Unde dictum est: Sicut Nembroth gigas venator ante Deum (Gen. X, 9). Quid igitur pulvis et arena generaret, nisi terrenum hominem: eo quod impius coelestibus terrena praeponat. Gigantes enim fabulae inducunt adversum supra voluisse pugnare, et terreno ascensu scandendum ad coelestia putaverunt. 48

Just as the mention of Jonas in connection with Nineveh (IX, 14) will evoke an unfriendly response to Ninus and the town he founded in those members of the poet's audience who know their Bible, so, too, the word *gigandi* (X, 4) will remind the listener that it is the wicked disobedience of heroes of old that is being pilloried in the poet's version of the building of Babel, for in Genesis the word 'giant' is associated with huge heroes, mighty men of old, men of renown, whose hearts are full of violence and evil, like the sons of those angels who bred with the fair daughters of men (Gen. VI, 1-8).

Disobedience and obedience are also found later in the work, though far less prominently than that imperialism motivated by a love of fame which is represented by Ninus. Disobedience is a feature of the career of an ambitious Caesar, who is the main pagan foil to the Christian hero of the poem, Anno. In lines that can be attributed to the poet's invention, in so far as no source has yet been found for them and since they occur in that part of the poem (XVIII-XXVIII) where he shapes and adds to his sources most, Caesar is accused of exceeding the brief, given him by the senators, by arrogantly campaigning abroad too long without their permission (XXIV, 1-6). In his ambition and thirst for glory he will not accept their refusal to allow him to enter Rome and plunges the whole Roman Empire into civil war. In a similar but not identical situation (for his cause is just and his superior is a heavenly saint) Anno obediently heeds the rebuke of St. Arnolt (XLIII), renounces his enmity towards the people of Cologne who have inflicted on him the humiliation of expulsion from the city, and thereby wins the heavenly reward of a throne in heaven, a much higher honour than that which Caesar seeks on earth.

The poet's treatment of Rome and Caesar is crucial when considering his aims in his presentation of pagan history. Jerome's exegesis of Daniel 7, 2-8 is (as we have already seen) the source for the poet's sketch of the political history of the world. He departs quite markedly from Jerome in his review of the Roman Empire (XVI-XVII) as symbolized by the fourth beast of Daniel's dream. Nellmann suggests that the poet has upgraded the Roman Empire because he presents it less harshly than Jerome.<sup>49</sup> It is evident from the notes to his edition that in the account of Rome's history the poet differs from Jerome's commentary on the fourth animal of Daniel's dream in two ways. First, the poet has included a statement not found in Jerome; the fourth beast will never be caught or tamed (XVI, 4 & 6) which signifies that the Roman Empire will always be free (XVI, 8). Secondly, the poet rejects Jerome's exegesis of Daniel 7, 24 in which the ten horns of the beast signify the ten kings who will come near the end of time to conquer and divide the Roman Empire amongst themselves. The poet's interpretation of the verse is that ten kings will form an alliance with Rome to combat and defeat its enemies (XVI, 9; 12; XVII, 1-2). No source has as yet been found for these innovations.

It is the poet's use of the Roman historian and moralist Sallust that will shed some light on these deviations from his source. Smalley notes that Sallust was read in France and Germany in the tenth and eleventh centuries; the words of Sallust's villain, Catiline, are put into the mouths of Emperor Otto II in Richer's *Historia* and of the hero, Duke Otto, of Bruno's *De Bello Saxonico*.<sup>50</sup> Sallust is also quoted by Notker of St. Gall<sup>51</sup> and Wipo.<sup>52</sup> In his *Catilinae Coniuratio* he places a character sketch of Cataline against the background of those Roman virtues he prizes most.<sup>53</sup> Briefly, he praises the success of the Romans in defending their prosperity and liberty, first against attacks from without and then against the despotism of their own kings. Roman liberty, thus strengthened, engendered a rapid expansion:

Civitas incredibile memoratu est adepta libertate  
quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriae  
incesserat.

Beginning with the institution of the council of state, who appointed magistrates to govern Rome, Sallust sees a golden age of Roman history where men of virtue sought glory in a military career. They were laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales and gloriam ingentem divitas honestas volebant. Among his contemporaries he singles out Caesar and Cato for special attention. Sallust not only praises Caesar's ambition for a great command, for an army and new wars in which his abilities could shine, but also for his kindness, humanity, mercy, readiness to pardon, and as a refuge for the unfortunate: in short, for his nobility of soul.<sup>54</sup> In the Annolied Roman love of freedom, so highly praised by Sallust, is associated with the fearsome boar and its isirni ceine vreisam (XVI, 5) that symbolizes the bold Romans and their empire. Here, Roman

liberty is synonymous with invincibility (XVI, 4 & 6) in wars waged to subjugate all other nations (XVI, 12). The poet's account of the fourth beast of Daniel's dream is then followed by a description of Caesar's career (XVII-XXVIII), which is an embodiment of that ambition and lust for glory attributed by Sallust both to him and Rome. As will be shown later, Roman honour necessitates war against other nations and can even lead to civil war. Of this the poet will show his disapproval by consigning all who fall in the battle between Caesar and Pompey to hell. It is in a passage in the City of God, where the moral character of the ancient Romans is discussed, <sup>55</sup> that Augustine writes an impassioned and unfavourable review of Sallust's praise of Rome and Caesar. He disregards Sallust's portrayal of Caesar's *nobilitas* (as the poet also does in the Annolied) and attacks that warfare which Roman pursuit of honour inevitably brings:

Ita fiebat in votis virorum virtute magnorum, ut  
excitaret in bellum miseras gentes et flagello agitare  
Bellona sanguineo, ut esset ubi virtus eorum enitesceret.  
Hoc illa profecto laudis aviditas et gloriae cupido  
faciebat. Amore itaque primitus libertatis, post etiam  
dominationis et cupiditate laudis et gloriae multa magna  
fecerunt.

Here, Augustine clearly links Roman concern for freedom with a lust for dominion over other peoples. In his first deviation from Jerome's account of the fourth animal of Daniel's dream the poet of the Annolied has been influenced by Augustine's critique of Sallust.

This first departure from Jerome leads to the second. To illustrate his Augustinian theme, the poet reinterprets Daniel 7, 24. The ten horns now signify ten kings who, as allies, helped Rome defeat her enemies. Here it is highly likely that the poet has a passage from the Chronicon of Freculph of Lisieux in mind. Freculph is read by German historians of this time, for Frutolf of Michelsberg, who died in 1103, uses him for his own chronicle. <sup>56</sup> Freculph shows how Rome first fails under the leadership of Licinius Crassus and then succeeds under Perpenna in a war against Aristonicus, who had disputed the bequest of Pergamum to Rome by his father, King Attalus III. In this war Rome's allies are numerous. The historian lists nine of them; Crassus goes into battle with the *regibus . . . Nicomedai Bythiniae, Mithradite, Ponti et Armeniae, Ariarate, Cappadociae, Philomenae, Paflagoniae*. <sup>57</sup> Even if XVI, 9-12 and XVII, 1-2 are not an allusion to the above passage in Freculph's Chronicon and represent a deliberately vague fabrication of the poet's own invention, nevertheless his purpose is clear; he wishes to elaborate on the theme of Sallust's Rome as viewed by Augustine.

In the poet's account of Caesar's career, it becomes evident that

Roman honour means much the same as Roman liberty: warfare and conquest of other peoples. Caesar is commissioned by the custodians of Roman honour, the altheirrin or senators, to go and fight in Germany. Caesar's career itself is an extension of the poet's view of the fourth beast. Rome's honour is satisfied by the pacification and subjugation of the German tribes. When Caesar's own ambition is thwarted his pride and sense of honour will not brook humiliation and so, as we have seen, he plunges the empire into civil war. Honour is all in the pagan code; for Ninus as it is for Rome and Caesar. The source of Ninus's motivation for waging the first imperialist war is now evident; it is Sallust, for Des lobis was her vili ger (VIII, 8) is a good translation of laudis avidus and a fair rendering of cupido gloriae. Ninus is a prototype for Rome and Caesar, indeed, for all pagan expansionism.

It might be argued that Caesar's character in the Annolied shows traits found in Sallust that are not included by Augustine in his critique. In victory Caesar is liberal to his German allies (XXVIII, 13-18) and earlier has been characterized as edel (XVIII, 9). However, it is well known that in EMHG this latter adjective denotes status only; for noble in an ethical sense the poet uses edile gemut (XLV, 3). But this he uses of Anno, not Caesar. Indeed, many of the pagan virtues that Sallust ascribes to the nobilitas of his Roman hero appear as Christian virtues in the life of Anno. Caesar's liberality, mentioned by Sallust and typical of that munificence that both he and Augustine ascribe to Roman leaders, can equally well be viewed as a result of a wish, attributed to the poet by W. Stammer, <sup>58</sup> to model Caesar on figures from contemporary German oral heroic literature. Meinhard's rebuke to Bishop Gunther of Bamberg for his delight in such literature is proof of its existence.<sup>59</sup> Liberality is a quality that is as much admired in warriors and rulers in medieval German literature and in Germanic tradition as it is in the heroes of Sallust's Rome. The poet's 'mistake' in attributing Augustus's youth to Caesar (XXVIII, 1) is to be seen in the same light; the young Caesar of the Annolied is as ambitious, mettlesome and impatient of dishonour as any of the youthful heroes of earlier or later profane literature such as Hadubrand, Siegfried, Wolfhart, Rivalin and the young Tristan.

Augustine vehemently condemns Roman liberty and Caesar's ambition because they lead to a warfare generated by lusts he abhors and associates with the civitas diaboli, as the following quotation indicates:

Fecerunt itaque civitates duas amores duo, terrenam scilicet amor sui usque ad contemptum Dei, caelestem vero amor Dei usque ad contemptum sui. Denique illa in se ipsa, haec in Domino gloriatur. Illa enim quaerit ab hominibus gloriam; huic autem Deus conscientiae testis maxima est gloria. Illa in gloria sua exaltat caput suum; haec dicit Deo suo: Gloria mea et exaltans

caput meum. Illi in principibus eius vel in eis quas  
subiugat nationibus dominandi libido dominatur; in  
hac serviunt invicem in caritate et praepositi consulendo  
et subditi obtemperando. Illa in suis potentibus diligit  
virtutem suam; haec dicit Deo suo: Diligam te, Domine,  
virtus mea. <sup>60</sup>

Whilst it is primarily Augustine's remarks on the civitas diaboli in this quotation that are useful for the present discussion, the love that exists between the civitas Dei and God is echoed in the poet's characterization of the right relationship between those who are milites Christi through baptism <sup>61</sup> and Christ:

In der doufe wûrde wir Cristis man.  
Den Heirrin sûlin wir minnan. (IV, 13-14)

The lust for domination inspired by a craving for honour and that contempt of God that Augustine so despises in the civitas diaboli dominate the opening strophes of the poet's account of pagan history in the figures of Ninus and Nimrod's giants. At first sight Caesar's war against Pompey seems to be presented more favourably than the civil war, that ubile strit (XL, 1), that rends the empire in the times of Henry IV. However, in XXVI-XXVII where he depicts the decisive battle in which Caesar and his German allies achieve a famous victory over the vastly superior numbers of Pompey's army, the poet suddenly reveals a capacity for irony. In the midst of the impressive Lucanian description of the din and gore of diz heristi volcwig (XXVI, 9), that is fought to satisfy Caesar's ambitions, the poet, in a sudden shift of focus, views the battle and its combatants sub specie aeternitatis:

Di helli in gegine gliunte,  
Da di heristin in der werilte  
Sûhtin sich mit suertin. (XXVII, 6-8)

Thus, pagan warfare waged to dominate others and to achieve fame leads to hell, whereas the leaders of Christ's kingdom on earth, the apostles and their descendants, milites Christi in the narrower sense, wage a warfare that shows mankind the way to heaven. The whole pattern of warfare and history in the second historical introduction and Anno's life itself is developing into a contrast between the values of a pagan civitas terrena and those virtues required of the civitas Dei peregrinans.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the role of worldly honour and warfare in Anno's life, it will be convenient to deal with possible objections to this claim that there is in the Anno a consistent contrast between the pagan vanitas of VIII-XXX and the Christian veritas of XXXI-XLIX. After



all the poet speaks of the wisdom of the kings of Babylon (XII, 5), tells of the 'miraculous' adventures of Alexander, and acknowledges positive merit in the rule of the pagan Augustus, whom he calls gūt (XXIX, 2). First, a contrast between the wisdom of Daniel (XI, 2) and that of the Babylonian kings will put the latter in its proper perspective; for the wisdom of Daniel, one of God's prophets, is a gift of God and used to explain God's design for world history, whereas the human wisdom of the kings of Babylon is employed to further the expansion of their empire (XII, 6), the transience of which is soon apparent in its destruction by Darius and Cyrus. The kings of Babylon are in fact essentially in the same mould as Ninus. Secondly, Alexander's 'miracles' are clearly meant as a foil to the real miracles, which God works at Anno's grave (I), at Christ's birth (XXXI), and in honour of Moses (XLIX). Alexander's fabulous exploits mean little sub specie aeternitatis, whereas the miracles that God performs in history are ceichin, that is, signa virtutis. Thirdly, the goodness of Augustus does not invalidate the contrast which has been drawn between pagan antiquity and the Christian present, for Augustus has a special position in medieval historiography. E. von Frauenholz has shown that since the Historia adversus Paganos of Orosius, Augustus has often been seen as a tool of God in Heilsgeschichte.<sup>62</sup> Under his rule the Roman Empire is being prepared for a rapid spread of the Christian gospel. Hence his pagan attributes are often ignored by Christian historiographers, who tend to depict him as if he were a Christian rex iustus et pacificus. In the Anno he is the only pagan ruler whose career is not devoted to the pursuit of honour in warfare; instead, he brings peace and enforces the law (XXIX, 7-11). However, though the poet's use of gūt to describe Augustus reflects a conventional historical attitude in the Middle Ages to this ruler, to be a worthy subject of a saint's legend a ruler must be vrno as well as gūt. The purpose of the Anno is to illustrate those qualities that are necessary in a bishop and regent if he is to be a true miles Christi.

Whereas the world of Caesar, Ninus, and Rome is associated with suffering and dominated by warfare and ambition that lead to the building of great empires, Christianity and Anno's career are characterized by a quest for a peace and happiness that are founded on piety, Christian love, compassion, humility and justice. Anno is seen as a responsible Christian ruler who exercises power to please God and for the benefit of two earthly communities, the Empire and his see, not for the satisfaction of his own pride. It is the bishop rather than the regent that earns the poet's praise; not only is Anno so outstanding in the performance of his ecclesiastical duties, such as preaching and the absolution of sins, that he can justly be compared to an angel, as St. Paul is in the apocryphal gospels,<sup>63</sup> but in his political duties his Christian goodness is equally evident to the many who see him as a fearless champion of veritas (XXXV, 4), defending the interests of the poor against the rich, being strict with the wicked and kind to the good and a refuge to the needy such as widows and orphans (XXXV, 5-10). His humility and his caritas inspire him to

dispense the wealth which accrues to his office as alms to the poor and to care for the poor with his own hands (XXXVI). A further instance of his Christian use of wealth contrasts sharply with the heroic milte of Caesar: his foundation of five religious houses (XXXVII, 12-16).

Iustitia, based on pietas and caritas, is the hallmark of the Christian rule of Anno over Cologne and the Empire. Iustitia Augustine denies to any ruler, state or institution that is not Christian, for vera autem iustitia non est nisi in ea republica, cuius conditor erectorque Christus est. <sup>64</sup> Reht and rihtaere are words that are reserved for Anno and his rule in the Annoled; they are not used of heathen empire or heathen rulers.

Likewise felicitas, happiness and good fortune, occupies a special position in Augustine's historical thought. He condemns the Roman cult of the goddess Felicitas; for felicity is not a deity but a gift of God instead. <sup>65</sup> Also, it can only be experienced by Christians: Nam quo modo ibi esset vera felicitas, ubi vera non erat pietas? Pietas enim est verax Dei cultus ... <sup>66</sup> As an exemplary Christian ruler of Christian subjects, Anno can then, God willing, be a source of temporal felicitas, but only if his subjects merit it, for God felicitatem vero non dat nisi bonis. <sup>67</sup> However, for Augustine temporal felicitas has only a relative value. In his chapter on the true felicity of Christian emperors in the City of God, the enjoyment of earthly happiness and worldly honour comes a bad second to that felicitas aeterna which must be the goal of even the highest on earth. <sup>68</sup> The poet's treatment of the theme of happiness can certainly be described as Augustinian. He only associates the happiness of a nation on earth with the rule of a good Christian ruler:

Vili selicliche diz riche alliz stunt  
Dū dis girihtis plag der heirre gūt,  
Dū her zo ci demi richi  
Den iungen Heinriche. (XXXVII, 1-4)

Such happiness of the ruler's Christian subjects will only endure whilst they are good:

Selicliche stunt Kolnischī werlt  
Dū si sūlichis bischovis warin werht. (XXXV, 17-18)

Further, he emphasizes that the bliss and concord of heavenly peace are the summum bonum for all Christians:

Harti ginc iz lmi [Anno] ci hercin  
Daz her widere kerin solde zir erdin.  
Ni werit dū ci stundin so gewant  
Durch alle diusi werilt ni rumiter daz Paradysi lant,

Sûlich is diu himilschi wunne,  
Dar sule wir denkin alt unti iungin. (XLIII, 15-20)

Temporal felicitas, as an imperfect reflection of heavenly bliss, is in itself a blessing. However, it represents a danger to Anno, for his excellence as a ruler is a source of great fame. As we have seen, to Caesar honour and power were all and this ethos the poet associates with hell. Anno is a representative of Christ's army through which Rome, once St. Peter has conquered the devil and won it for Christ, subjugates the world anew. For a miles Christi worldly honour and fame, however well merited, can be a distraction from the summum bonum. To bring others happiness on earth is not the main function of a Christian saint who should lead the civitas Dei peregrinans along the right path to heavenly bliss. A saint's life must focus his venerator's attention not so much on the worldly fame he has justly earned but on the winning of a throne in the curia caelis that he has merited through his life on earth. So the poet shows God intervening in history to test and purify Anno,

Ni avir diu michil ere  
lewihit wûrre sinir selin. (XXXVIII, 1-2)

His reactions to his trials and tribulations, a passio that he has to endure al nah dis heiligin Cristis bilide (XXXIX, 15), are in every respect but one exemplary. Unlike Caesar who precipitates a civil war, Anno as a true pacificus tries to reconcile the two sides which wage that ubile strit (XL, 1) that rends the Empire in the reign of Henry IV. Only his response to his expulsion from Cologne by the townspeople is false. In the climax to his life, his vision of the curia caeli with the empty throne reserved for him there, his hatred of the people of Cologne and the withdrawal of his favour from them is that stain on his breast which offends the assembly of saints in heaven.

The poet compares Anno's expulsion from Cologne to David's expulsion from Jerusalem by Absalom (XXXIX, 7-12). In victory David's attitude to his son is gentle (II Samuel XVIII, 5). Anno has had to learn that it befits a Christian ruler to pardon and forgive. Hatred is forbidden to monks by the Benedictine Rule, where the abbot is urged to prefer mercy to judgement.<sup>69</sup> The primacy of forgiveness and pardon over punishment and the law is required of secular Christian rulers too, both in the fifth century in the City of God<sup>70</sup> and in the eleventh century in Wipo's Tetralogus and Vita Conradi Salici.<sup>71</sup> In the curia caeli Anno is found lacking in the prime Christian virtue. Augustine intimates that righteousness is hollow without forgiveness.<sup>72</sup> This is also the message of the Annolied. Paragon though he may be and however great the justification for his wrath, nevertheless Anno is not acceptable in heaven until he has forgiven the people of Cologne.

After his death Anno's soul soars away from earthly pain to heavenly bliss. In this the poet's audience can see the fruits of that Christian freedom won for mankind by Christ's harrowing of hell (IV, 12). Through his use of Augustine's review of Sallust the poet has been able to contrast Christian freedom and Anno's Christian virtue favourably with Roman liberty and Caesar's pagan heroism, thus underlining the message of his prologue that the miracles and life of Den heiligen bischof Annen is more relevant to man's salvation than songs of ancient heroes and their battles.

The poet is clearly a better theologian and hagiographer, in short, a better thinker, than his present reputation might suggest. His position and the significance of his poem in the history of ideas in the Middle Ages is best seen against the background of the reception of Augustine's City of God north of the Alps before 1150. F.P. Pickering<sup>73</sup> and B. Smalley<sup>74</sup> both argue that this work and its philosophy of history has little impact on medieval historiography in this area with the notable exception of Otto von Freising. It is, however, used in the early Middle Ages by the industrious and the expert. Half a century earlier than Otto von Freising,<sup>75</sup> Frutolf von Michelsberg<sup>76</sup> employed the work as a source for Assyrian history in his chronicle. It is also used as a source for authoritative comment on Genesis by Alcuin in his Interrogationes et Responsiones in Genesin<sup>77</sup> and by Otfrid von Weissenburg in his Evangelienbuch.<sup>78</sup> According to M. Manitius, John Scotus Erigena used it for his commentary on Martianus Capella because it was one of die üblichen Lehrbücher für mythologische und antiquarische Dinge.<sup>79</sup> It was the polemicists and politicians, however, who probably found the work most useful. Agobard, bishop of Lyons, discovered support in it for his views on the worship of images and the veneration of saints.<sup>80</sup> In the eleventh century, Notker of St. Gall used the work to attack the philosophers and scientists of antiquity.<sup>81</sup> In his De Regis Persona, Hincmar of Reims quoted Augustine's vindication of the just war, his characterization of the imperator felix, and his arguments for the exclusion from the sin of killing of those who wage a war authorized by God.<sup>82</sup> It is the Investiture Contest that led to a quickening of interest in the City of God on the part of the German political writers who supported the papacy or the Empire. One of these writers, the monk of Hersfeld, who wrote the De Unitate Ecclesiae Conservanda (ca. 1090-3), knew the work well, and quoted extensively from it on various matters.<sup>83</sup> What is of particular interest in the present context is that he used Augustine's division of history into two civitates for his own ends. Because they promote warfare the pope and his adherents are the representatives of Babylon and the civitas diaboli. The Annolied and the De Unitate Ecclesiae Conservanda provide evidence that there is a keen interest in the City of God in certain circles in Germany towards the end of the eleventh century which flowers dramatically in the De Duabus Civitatibus of Otto von Freising in the twelfth.

NOTES

1. All quotations are taken from the diplomatic edition of Opitz's text by W. Bulst, Heidelberg 1961. The dating is tentative, but H. Thomas has shown in 'Studien zur Trierer Geschichtsschreibung des 11. Jahrhunderts', Rheinisches Archiv 68, 1968, 125, that the Annolied is a source of the Gesta Trevirorum (c.1101).
2. E. Nellmann, Das Annolied, Stuttgart 1975, p.77.
3. Ibid., p.76.
4. F.P. Pickering, Augustinus oder Boethius, vol.1, Berlin 1967, 15-18; vol.2, Berlin 1976, 156-7.
5. D. Knab, Das Annolied, Probleme seiner literarischen Einordnung, Tübingen 1962.
6. E. Nellmann, Die Reichsidee in deutschen Dichtungen der Salier- und frühen Stauferzeit, Berlin 1963, p.42.
7. E. Marsch, Biblische Prophetie und chronologische Dichtung, Berlin 1972, p.14.
8. E. Wenzel, Frauendienst und Gottesdienst, Berlin 1974, pp.40-42, 46.
9. E. Nellmann, Das Annolied, pp.92, 172-4. Ittenbach's contention that the poet has forged links between past and present by identifying qualities and similarities in temperament shared by the individual empires of world history and particular German tribes demonstrates the local patriotism and nationalism of the author. It is not an attempt by the poet, as Nellmann argues in his Reichsidee, pp.57-64, to make die Deutschen zum prädestinierten Weltreichsvolk (p.61).
10. Sancti Aurelii Augustini, De Civitate Dei, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, XLVII-XLVIII, Turnhout 1955, XVII, 4, 556.
11. Ibid., XVII, 4, 558.
12. Ibid., XVIII, 47, 645-6. Here the only Old Testament Gentile, whom Augustine will admit to the civitas Dei, is Job.
13. Ibid., XVII, 4, 555, 560-1.

14. N.H. Baynes, 'The Political Ideas of St. Augustine's De Civitate Dei', Historical Association Pamphlets, 104, London 1936, 14.
15. B. Smalley, Historians of the Middle Ages, London 1974, p.100.
16. W. Lammers, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, Bd.XVI, Chronik oder die Geschichte der zwei Staaten von Otto von Freising, Darmstadt 1960. My debt to his introduction will be obvious to all who know it.
17. De Civitate Dei, XVIII, 34, 628. My italics. Bk.XVIII deals with history and the era of the Saviour, the start of the sixth age. In 29, pp.619-20, Augustine discusses prophecies in Isaiah de Christo et ecclesia, hoc est de rege et ea quam condidit civitate. In 34 he states how Daniel specified the time when Christ was destined to come and suffer. Then he uses Dan. 7, 13-4 to demonstrate the power of the Church Militant on earth. Jerome's commentary on these verses is different; he repeats the Pauline message in Phil. 2, 6-8 of the humility of Christ the King in the sacrifice he makes on the Cross.
18. Sancti Aurelii Augustini, De Civitate Dei, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, XLVII-XLVIII, Turnhout 1955, XVII, 4, 556.
19. A.-D. van den Brincken, Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronistik bis in das Zeitalter Ottos von Freising, Düsseldorf, pp.235ff.
20. Ibid., pp.88f.
21. W. Goetz, Translatio Imperii, Tübingen 1958, pp.107ff.
22. B. Smalley, op. cit., pp.53-5.
23. W. Goetz, op. cit., pp.108ff.
24. Ibid., p.110. According to Frutolf rule over the Roman Empire is transferred from the Greek emperors of Eastern Rome to Charlemagne in 800.
25. A.-D. van den Brincken, op. cit., pp.190ff. Systematic use of Jerome's scheme is not found until Otto von Friesing's De Duabus Civitatibus.
26. W. Goetz, op. cit., pp.102ff.

# READING MEDIEVAL STUDIES

27. Orosius's four empires are Babylon, Macedon, Carthage and Rome, whereas Jerome, Augustine and Otto von Freising have the Assyrians and/or Babylonians, Persians (and Medes), Greeks and Romans. For Augustine's references to Dan. 7, 2-8, and Jerome's exegesis, see De Civitate Dei, XX, 23, 742.
28. See E. Kocken, De theorie van de vier wereldrijken en van de overdracht der wereldheerschappij tot op Innocentius III, Nijmegen 1935, p.89.
29. A.-D. van den Brincken, op. cit., pp.123f.
30. See P.E. Hubinger, 'Spätantike und frühes Mittelalter', Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift 26, 1952, 1ff.
31. In the De Duabus Civitatibus, edited by W. Lammers, pp.210-1, 238-41, Otto tells of the expansion of Christ's kingdom after his birth over the whole world. The apostles are the architects and princes of this kingdom in its earthly form. Peter conquers Rome (cf. Annolied V.5 and XXXII, 1-4), Paul works in Greece (cf. V.6), Matthew in Ethiopia (cf. V.9), Simon and Thaddaeus (Iudas in V.10) in Egypt, Phillip in Hierapolis (not in the Annolied), and Thomas and Bartholomew (no Bartholomew in V.8) in India. Whereas Otto distinguishes between the two James, the brother of Christ and the apostle, and asserts that the apostle James was beheaded by Herod after preaching in Spain, the poet of the Annolied states that James is now buried in Spain (V. 11-2). Otto also knows of Valerius, Maternus and Eucharis (cf. XXXII), mentions Maternus's resurrection from the dead after 33 days (40 in XXXII, 20-2) and St. Peter's staff (XXXII, 10-1), of which there are relics in both Trier and Cologne where the three missionaries worked.
32. See Sulpicii Severi, De Vita Beati Martini, PL 20, cols. 151-61.
33. E.H. Sehr, Notker - Glossar, Tübingen 1962, p.41.
34. J. Laufs, 'Der Friedensgedanke bei Augustinus', Hermes, Heft 27, Wiesbaden 1973, p.56.
35. E. Nellmann, op. cit., p.77.
36. A.C. Crombie, From Augustine to Galileo, vol.1, Harmondsworth 1957, 33.
37. Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina XXXVIII, Turnhout 1956, Ps.VI, 28.



38. De Civitate Dei, V, 11, 141-2. My italics in the quotation.
39. Ibid., XI, 16, 336.
40. A. Haas, 'Der Mensch als dritte werlt im Annolied', Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, 95, 1966, 281.
41. See H. Freytag, 'Summa Theologiae, Strophe 9 und 10: Der Mensch Microcosmos', in Studien zur frühmittelhochdeutschen Literatur, Cambridger Colloquium 1971, ed. L.P. Johnson, H.-H. Steinhoff and R.A. Wisbey, Berlin 1974, pp.74-82.
42. De Civitate Dei, XI, 16, 336.
43. Ibid., XIV, 12, 434.
44. Ibid., XIX, 12, 678.
45. Ibid., XIV, 15, 437.
46. It is clear that folly as signified by doleheit (III, 21) and dumplicho (X, 6) is a synonym for wickedness in the Annolied, because later (XXXV, 7-8) tumb is used as an antonym of gūt.
47. De Civitate Dei, XVI, 4, 505.
48. See PL 14, col. 436.
49. E. Nellmann, Das Annolied, pp.89-90.
50. B. Smalley, 'Sallust in the Middle Ages', Classical Influences on European Culture, A.D. 500-1500, ed. R.R. Bolgar, Cambridge 1971, p.171.
51. See Althochdeutsches Lesebuch, W. Braune/K. Helm, Tübingen 1958, p.60.
52. See Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der Hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches, ed. R. Buchner, Berlin 1961, p.577.
53. C. Sallusti Crispi, Catilina Iurgurtha, ed. A. Kurfess, Leipzig 1968, pp.6-8.
54. Ibid., p.46.

# READING MEDIEVAL STUDIES

55. De Civitate Dei, V.12, p.143. Augustine's attitude to the better qualities of ancient Rome is ambivalent. He concedes that the Romans are effective rulers who merit the role that God has given them in history, but he attacks the warfare that these qualities foster.
56. F.J. Schmale and Irene Schmale-Ott, Frutolfs Chroniken und die anonyme Kaiserchronik, Darmstadt 1972, p.15.
57. Freculphi Lexoviensis Episcopi Chronicon, PL 106, col. 1057.
58. W. Stammer, 'Die Anfänge weltlicher Dichtung in deutscher Sprache', Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 70, 1947, 27-8. Stammer sees the result of such endeavours in a different light than the author of this essay.
59. K. Erdmann, 'Fibulae curiales', Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, 73, 1936, 87-98.
60. De Civitate Dei, XIV, 28, 451.
61. This idea goes back to Tertullian according to A. Harnack, Militia Christi, Tübingen 1905, p.36.
62. E. von Frauenholz, 'Imperator Octavianus Augustus in der Geschichte und Sage des Mittelalters', Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft, 46, 1926, 86-122.
63. E. Simon, The Saints, Hamondsworth 1968, p.30.
64. De Civitate Dei, II, 21, 55.
65. Ibid., IV, 23, 118.
66. Ibid., IV, 23, 117.
67. Ibid., IV, 33, 126.
68. Ibid., V, 24, 160.
69. Benedicti Regula Monachorum, ed. E. Wöfflin, Leipzig 1895, Cap.IV, p.14 and Cap.LXIV, p.63.
70. De Civitate Dei, V, 24, 160.

71. See PL 142, cols. 1256-7, 1228.
72. De Civitate Dei, XIX, 27, 697.
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